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United States Department of State

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10/27/94 - 21:58 CABLE SENT TO SWO/cl.

Washington, D. C. 20520

94 OCT 27 11:16

25 1994

9424416

ACTION MEMORANDUM
S/S 10/26

CONFIDENTIAL
DECL: OADR

TO: The Acting Secretary

THROUGH: G - Mr. Wirth

FROM: AF - Edward Bryson Acting

SUBJECT: Rwanda Operational Support Group

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ISSUES FOR DECISION

Whether to approve the attached cable proposing the formation of a nine-country "Operational Support Group" (OSG) for Rwanda, and whether to hold the inaugural meeting in Washington at the Secretary of State/Foreign Minister level.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS

Resolution of the Rwanda crisis requires concerted effort by the international community on several fronts simultaneously. To coordinate and support the many initiatives underway or under consideration, we believe that key donor countries must establish an OSG, which will support and push UN bodies while coordinating bilateral and multilateral efforts.

UN bodies have already undertaken several important initiatives, including expansion of UNAMIR, deployment of human rights monitors, and investigation of the genocide and other atrocities. These initiatives, however, are far from completion. The UN is on the verge of taking on another major effort with the planned establishment of an international tribunal for Rwanda. In addition, the UN and the international community are struggling with perhaps the most difficult immediate problem: how best to handle the insecurity on Rwanda's borders. Initiatives in this area (e.g., deployment of peacekeepers in neighboring countries and/or large-scale disarmament and movement of the former Rwandan army and militias) would require enormous effort on the part of the UN and international community.

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Experience makes clear that these initiatives cannot succeed without sustained monitoring, assistance, and prodding by the international community. The UN system simply does not have the capacity to complete these myriad undertakings on its own. It has taken over four months to expand UNAMIR to 5,500 troops, and the job is still not completed. If it were not for the logistical support and political prodding of the U.S. and other member states, the effort would not have advanced this far. Similar statements could be made about the painfully slow deployment of human rights monitors and the embryonic investigation into the genocide and atrocities.

We cannot let the effort on Rwanda lag or allow the world to lose interest. The longer the problem festers without real progress toward a solution, the greater the risk that hostilities will resume. The presence in Zaire and Tanzania of forces hostile to the current government means that renewed fighting could well draw Rwanda's neighbors into the war. Regional stability -- a top U.S. priority -- requires that we act quickly to form an OSG.

We have recommended that the following countries participate, based on their key historical or political role and/or their ability to share the burden: the United States, France, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, Canada, Sweden, and the current OAU Chairman (this year, Tunisia) to act as a link to the Africans. (You should be aware that the French view the new government in Rwanda with suspicion and may be reluctant to participate actively in an OSG.) We have drafted a letter (attached) from you to the Foreign Ministers of these countries encouraging their countries to participate in the OSG.

To ensure that the OSG proposal receives maximum support and attention, we suggest that the initial meeting take place in Washington at the Foreign Minister level, with you leading the U.S. delegation. We have proposed a mid-November time-frame for the inaugural meeting. We would not recommend a high-level initiative of this nature for "routine" regional security issues that do not directly affect the security of the United States. However, the Rwanda crisis is anything but "routine"; genocide unmatched on the African continent, and seen on a similar or larger scale only twice this century, merits special treatment and attention. Alternatively, the initial meeting could be held at the Under Secretary level, with Under Secretary Wirth leading the U.S. team. In either case, we would envision that future meetings would take place in New York, at the Assistant Secretary level.

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RECOMMENDATION

Option 1

That you approve the cable at Tab 1 transmitting a letter from you to the Foreign Ministers of the proposed OSG countries encouraging their participation in the OSG and inviting them to attend an initial meeting in Washington, with you to lead the U.S. delegation. Subsequent meetings would be in New York at the Assistant Secretary level.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____ ^{10/27}

OR

Option 2

That you approve the cable at Tab 2 transmitting a letter from you to the Foreign Ministers of the proposed OSG countries encouraging their countries to participate in the OSG, with the initial meeting to take place in Washington at the Under Secretary level. Subsequent meetings would be in New York at the Assistant Secretary level.

APPROVE _____ ^{10/27}

DISAPPROVE _____

Attachment:

- Tab 1: Cable Inviting Foreign Ministers to Participate in OSG and Attend SecState-level Meeting in Washington
- Tab 2: Cable Inviting Foreign Ministers to Have Their Countries Participate in OSG meeting at U/S level in Washington, then A/S level in New York

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Drafted:AF/C:KAiston *KA*
SECC 5218, 10/19/94, x7-3139

Cleared: AF/C:Render
P:LBassett
G:AJoyce
PRM/AAA:ANelson
DRL:JRosenblatt
IO/UNP:GStanton
EAP/J:JNutter
EUR:RFrasur
NEA/MAG:DFetter
S/RPP:SDeVol *cl for*

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10/19/94 647-3139 SECC 5216
THE SECRETARY

AF:PBUSHNELL AF/C:ARENDER P:LBASSETT G:AJOYCE
PRM/AAA:ANELSON DRL:JROSENBLATT IO/UNP:GSTANTON EAP/J:JDINGER
EUR:RFRASUR NEA/MAG:DFETTER
S/S: S/S-0:

PRIORITY PARIS, BRUSSELS PRIORITY, LONDON PRIORITY,
BONN PRIORITY, TOKYO PRIORITY, OTTAWA PRIORITY, TUNIS PRIORITY +
ROUTINE RWAND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PREF, EAID, RW

SUBJECT: FRIENDS OF RWANDA OPERATIONAL SUPPORT GROUP

REF: STATE 261936

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. POSTS SHOULD DELIVER THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER TO HOST GOVERNMENT FOREIGN MINISTER
OR EQUIVALENT AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF LETTER:

DEAR MR. MINISTER:

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAVE
MADE GREAT EFFORTS TO ALLEVIATE HUMAN SUFFERING AND
ADDRESS HUMANITARIAN NEEDS GROWING OUT OF THE CRISIS IN
RWANDA. HOWEVER, MUCH WORK REMAINS TO BE DONE TO ENHANCE
SECURITY AND FOSTER CONDITIONS WHICH WILL ENCOURAGE
NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND REFUGEE RETURN.

RESOLUTION OF THE RWANDA CRISIS WILL REQUIRE CONCERTED

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2

EFFORT ON SEVERAL FRONTS. TO COORDINATE AND SUPPORT THESE INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS, WE PROPOSE THE FORMATION OF AN OPERATIONAL SUPPORT GROUP. WE WOULD WELCOME YOUR COUNTRY'S ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THIS GROUP.

IMPORTANT EFFORTS ARE ALREADY UNDERWAY TO IMPROVE SECURITY AND CONFIDENCE WITHIN RWANDA. THE UN IS WORKING TO COMPLETE ITS EXPANSION OF UNAMIR AND DEPLOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS. THIS EFFORT NEEDS THE FULL, COORDINATED SUPPORT OF KEY NATIONS.

INSECURITY IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS ON RWANDA'S BORDERS REMAINS A SERIOUS PROBLEM WHICH, IF NOT EFFECTIVELY AND QUICKLY ADDRESSED, COULD DESTABILIZE RWANDA AND THE ENTIRE SUBREGION. THE UN IS STUDYING THIS ISSUE NOW. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO ASSIST IN ADDRESSING THIS CRUCIAL PROBLEM.

TRUE RECONCILIATION WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE UNTIL THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR GENOCIDE AND OTHER ATROCITIES ARE IDENTIFIED AND BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. FAILURE TO ACT RISKS REPRISALS AND RENEWED VIOLENCE. WE MUST SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF UN BODIES TO INVESTIGATE THE ATROCITIES AND ESTABLISH AN EFFECTIVE AND EXPEDITIOUS METHOD TO ACHIEVE ACCOUNTABILITY. RWANDA'S DOMESTIC JUDICIAL SYSTEM WILL NEED HELP, AS WELL.

RWANDA WILL REQUIRE SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE TO RESTORE BASIC SERVICES AND INFRASTRUCTURE. AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST ENCOURAGE AND SUPPORT EFFORTS AT POLITICAL RECONCILIATION. THE KEY PRINCIPLES OF THE ARUSHA ACCORD -- INCLUSIVENESS IN GOVERNMENT, MILITARY INTEGRATION, AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS -- ARE ALL VITAL ELEMENTS IN A PROGRAM OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, AND WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT INITIATIVES IN THESE AREAS. THESE EFFORTS WILL HELP CREATE CONDITIONS THAT WILL FOSTER NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND REFUGEE RETURN.

AS YOU CAN SEE, THIS IS INDEED AN AMBITIOUS UNDERTAKING, AND ONE THAT CAN ONLY SUCCEED THROUGH SUSTAINED, COORDINATED SUPPORT BY RWANDA'S FRIENDS. IN OUR VIEW, THIS CAN BEST BE ACHIEVED THROUGH THE FORMATION OF AN OPERATIONAL SUPPORT GROUP.

WE PROPOSE HOLDING THE INITIAL MEETING IN WASHINGTON, PERHAPS IN MID-NOVEMBER. I WOULD LEAD THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION, AND HOPE VERY MUCH THAT YOUR COUNTRY WILL AGREE TO PARTICIPATE AND THAT YOU WILL JOIN ME IN WASHINGTON TO LAUNCH THIS IMPORTANT INITIATIVE. WE

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ENVISION THAT FUTURE MEETINGS WOULD OCCUR IN NEW YORK, AT THE APPROPRIATE LEVEL.

WE LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR THOUGHTS.

SINCERELY,

WARREN CHRISTOPHER

END TEXT.

4. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW. IF HOST GOVERNMENT INQUIRES AS TO WHICH COUNTRIES ARE BEING INVITED, PLEASE INFORM HOST GOVERNMENT THAT PROPOSED PARTICIPANTS ARE: THE U.S., FRANCE, BELGIUM, THE UK, GERMANY, JAPAN, CANADA, SWEDEN, AND THE CURRENT OAU CHAIRMAN (TUNISIA, THIS YEAR). WE ENVISION SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS IN NEW YORK WOULD, AT LEAST INITIALLY, BE AT THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEVEL.

5. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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AF/C:KAISTON:KCA
10/20/94 647-3139 SECC 5221
P:PTARNOFF

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